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ABSTRACT

Among the major concerns surrounding school-choice programs is their potential to stratify students along the dimensions of race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic class. The latest among four U.S. Department of Education national evaluations of charter schools reports no evidence that charter schools are predominantly white or that they segregate students. Such statements may serve to misrepresent charter schools and their potential to ethnically and racially stratify students. There is an overreliance on aggregate data to answer the question whether ethnic separation occurs between schools; and in addition, such statements overgeneralize the circumstances of charter schools, which operate under varying conditions often as a result of differing state laws and regulations. This paper presents evidence of ethnic/racial stratification among charter schools in Arizona, California, and Michigan. These three states currently enroll over half of all charter school students in the United States and contain nearly half of the nation's charter schools. The conclusions drawn rest primarily upon findings from three statewide studies. Comparisons among proximal charter and traditional public schools in Arizona, Michigan, and California suggest that a significant number of charter schools are disproportionately more white by about 15 to 20 percent on average. Moreover, certain state charter policies appear to permit such sorting. The evidence presented runs counter to some of the claims intimated by highly regarded national evaluations of charter schools. (Contains 29 references, 3 figures, and 2 tables.) (Author/MLF)

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The U.S. Charter School Movement and Ethnic Segregation

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ABSTRACT

This paper presents evidence of ethnic/racial stratification among charter schools in Arizona, California, and Michigan. These three states currently enroll over half of all charter school students in the United States and contain nearly half of the nation's charter schools. The conclusions drawn here rest primarily upon findings from three statewide studies. Comparisons among proximal charter and traditional public schools in Arizona, Michigan, and California suggest that a significant number of charter schools are disproportionately more white by about 15 to 20 percent on average. Moreover, certain among state charter policies appear to permit such sorting. The evidence presented here runs counter to some of the claims intimated by highly regarded national evaluations of charter schools.

Among the major concerns surrounding school choice programs is their potential to stratify students along the dimensions of race, ethnicity, or socioeconomic class (Corwin & Flaherty, 1995; Elmore, 1987; Henig, 1995; Moore & Davenport, 1990; O'Neil, 1996; Thrupp, 1999; Wells, 1993; Wells & Crain, 1992; Willms, 1986). Related concerns are that they will "cream" academically talented students off of the public schools (see e.g., Buechler, 1996; Fitzgerald, Harris, Huidekoper & Mani, 1998; Lee & Croninger; Moore & Davenport, 1990; and Wells, 1993). Charter schools, as schools of choice, have been targets of these same allegations.

Reports appear mixed as to whether charter schools disproportionately serve white students or whether they have contributed to increased segregation among publicly funded schools. Studies conducted by charter advocacy groups have found no evidence of ethnic/racial separation. Other, more prominent national evaluations have concluded that charter schools do not stratify students nor predominantly serve white children (e.g., Buechler, 1996; U.S. Department of Education, 1997). Finally, a number of investigations report evidence that contradict these national evaluations (e.g., Cobb & Glass, 1999; Crockett, 1999; Miron & Horn, 1997; Wells, 1999). We turn next to these national evaluations.

National Charter School Evaluations

The first national evaluation of charter schools reported that in most states charter schools had "a racial composition similar to statewide averages or [had] a higher proportion of students of color" than traditional public schools (U.S. Department of Education, 1997, p. 24). As we shall argue, such statements may serve to misrepresent charter schools and their potential to ethnically and racially stratify students. In the first

place, there is an over-reliance on aggregate data to answer the question of whether ethnic separation occurs between schools; such aggregate data are incapable for that purpose. Secondly, such statements over generalize the circumstances of charter schools, which operate under varying conditions often as a result of differing state laws and regulations.

The *Fourth-Year Report:* A Closer Look

The latest among four U.S. Department of Education national evaluations of charter schools again reports no evidence that charter schools are predominantly white or that they segregate students (U.S. Department of Education, 2000). Such conclusions remain in question, however, for several reasons. First, since not all charter schools are "schools of choice" to the same degree, generalizations can be misleading if not inappropriate. Indeed, the degree of choice offered by charter schools depends largely on the laws under which they operate. Given the variation in charter legislation among the 27 states with operating charters, generalizations should be restricted to at most the state in which the charter schools reside. For instance, some state charter laws do not require that schools maintain particular ethnic/racial balances (e.g., Arizona), while others require ethnic/racial compositions to reflect that of the sponsoring district (e.g., California), while still others must reflect the ethnic/racial diversity of the surrounding area (e.g., Minnesota) (U.S. Department of Education & RPP, 1999). Even within-state assessments can be problematic when one considers the various *types* of charter schools. There are urban charter schools, at-risk charter schools, grassroots charter schools, and public and private conversion charter schools. Other characterizations include teacher-led, parent-led, and entrepreneur-initiated charter schools (Wells, 1999).

Moreover, methodological inadequacies have made impossible the detection of stratification in cases where it might very well exist. The *Fourth-Year Report* analyses rely too heavily on aggregate state and national data, which are incapable of showing between-school ethnic/racial separation. These reports have not found evidence of stratification because they fail to consider the circumstances under which it is most likely to occur, namely, between schools within a district, town, or community.

The U.S. Department of Education (2000) investigated enrollment compositions at the national, state, and local levels. Percentages of white/non-white students were aggregated and comparisons were made between charter and traditional public schools. From these data, the report makes this case:

> Critics and advocates alike have feared that charter schools would primarily serve white students. This has not turned out to be the case. Overall, charter schools enrolled a larger percentage of students of color than all public schools in the states with open charter schools. (p. 30)

And further,

> Charter schools in approximately three-fifths of the charter states enrolled a higher percentage of nonwhite students than all public schools in those states (p. 32).

(These statements are not removed from a broader context--these quotes are among the main conclusions from the report.) Taken in the literal sense, these statements are not incorrect. However, such comparisons between charters and "all public schools" are inappropriate if the intent of these findings is to provide evidence that charter schools do not stratify students. Including all public schools in the comparison group compares what might be going on in a particular neighborhood with what might be going on in an entire state. For instance, why would one include in this comparison group average hundreds of public schools located several hundreds of miles away from *any* charter school? Such

aggregated data could not speak to between-school segregation, if it existed. If one is interested in seriously investigating the possibility of ethnic/racial separation, a more appropriate comparison group would include those public schools that are in proximity to charter schools.

To its credit, the report makes an attempt to examine the ethnic/racial variability between schools (the "local level" analysis), but the manner in which this was done again places the conclusions in question. After comparing the percent of nonwhite students among charter schools to surrounding districts' percent nonwhite students, the report concluded:

> Sixty-nine percent of charter schools were within 20 percent of their surrounding district's percentage of nonwhite students, while almost 18 percent had a distinctly higher percentage of students of color than their surrounding district. Approximately 14 percent of schools had a lower percentage of students of color than their surrounding districts. (p. 30)

It is problematic that these figures are tallied across states, without regard to size of school, size of district, ethnic/racial heterogeneity, or presence of charter schools in any one state. Moreover, one might question the generous leeway given charters when a 20 percent ethnic/racial imbalance in 69 percent of the charter schools is dismissed as not evidencing segregation. (One wonders if the current Washington administration's benevolent attitude toward charter schools--borne of a wish to stave off the even more radical reform of vouchers, we believe--is intruding at this point in its analysis. We have seen in the past at the federal level how the same research on class size, for example, can be interpreted in radically different ways by different political parties.)

"Surrounding district" represents a better comparison group than all public schools, but still falls short of the mark. Some states, such as Arizona, permit--even

encourage--non-district sponsors. In fact, only a handful of Arizona charter schools are sponsored by public school districts, making within-district comparisons less meaningful in that state. Further, most of these district-sponsored schools were located well outside the boundary of the sponsoring district. Yet the Department of Education "local level" analysis relied on district comparisons for all charter schools in their national sample.

Even in those instances where charters do belong to districts, comparisons to district averages may not be the most sensitive technique for detecting ethnic/racial segregation. Segregation can easily be hidden in district level analyses. District schools, after all, can exhibit extreme variability in their ethnic/racial compositions, for they are often highly segregated. Averaging the percent white among several district schools masks this variability. Furthermore, in urban, secondary districts, which can span wide geographic areas, stratification could be occurring in one corner of that district (e.g., between two high schools and one charter school) but the averaged figures obscure any evidence. Intra-district comparisons may make more sense for smaller, rural districts that tend to have only one or two high schools.

Lastly, the Department of Education's local level analysis relied predominantly on charter schools reporting data about the districts in which they reside (see footnote 2 on page 31 in full report). Sound research requires that the quality of such data be insured by use of independent auditing of reports.

Evidence from Three States

Next, we present evidence of ethnic/racial stratification among charter schools in Arizona, California, and Michigan. These three states currently enroll over half (52 percent) of all charter school students in the United States and contain nearly half of the

nation's charter schools (U.S. Department of Education, 2000). The conclusions drawn here rest primarily upon findings from three statewide studies.

Arizona

Arizona has arguably the most lenient charter legislation in the nation, which is borne out by the sheer numbers of charters in that state. Arizona contains nearly one quarter of the nation's charter schools. Charters are sponsored by one of three boards. Two of these boards may approve up to 25 charter schools per year; the third may grant an unlimited number. Virtually any individual or organization inside or outside the state is eligible to receive a charter, and very few applicants are turned down. Successful charter applicants include entrepreneurs, former public school educators, school districts, for-profit companies, non-profit organizations, and private citizens. Teachers in charter schools are not required to be certified.

Despite recent legislative attempts to amend the law to prevent abuses, (the Senate passed a bill that introduced familiar state regulations such as increased financial accountability, more auditing of books, bringing charters under state procurement laws, and the like), eleventh-hour amendments were slapped on by the Arizona House Majority Leader that stripped out nearly all of the proposed new regulations. The Governor and Superintendent of Schools (the latter an ardent supporter of charter schools) expressed shock and dismay at this almost inexplicable political maneuvering.

Data reported at the state level suggest that Arizona charter schools serve an ethnically and racially diverse group of students, though they under-represent Hispanic students. For instance, in 1996, traditional public schools in Arizona collectively served 56.8 percent white students while all charter schools enrolled 55.2 percent white students

(Cobb & Glass, 1999). Put this way, there appears to be little difference in the ethnic compositions between charter and traditional public schools. But, as we have argued, averaged figures do not speak to the possibility of between-school ethnic/racial separation.

Cobb and Glass (1999) compared the 1996 ethnic/racial compositions of over one hundred Arizona charter schools with those of nearby traditional public schools. Geographic maps were used to analyze the ethnic/racial makeup of each urban charter school (n= 55) in relation to nearby traditional public schools of the same grade level. The maps provided rich, contextual information. Various geographical characteristics such as major streets and highways, reservation lands, mountainous regions, canals, military bases, census tracts, and district boundaries comprised these digital maps. Descriptive data relevant to the census tracts, district boundaries, and—most importantly—nearby schools, were also available. Results indicated that the charter schools were typically more white (on the order of 15 to 20 percent higher in the percentage of white students enrolled) than the nearest traditional public schools. Moreover, the charter high schools appeared to fall naturally into either college preparatory schools that were largely white, or at-risk, vocational schools that were predominantly minority. Intra-district analyses of 57 rural charter schools (which often entailed comparing one charter school to one or two traditional public schools due the smallness of rural school districts) showed similar levels of ethnic/racial separation. These results confirmed, at least in the case of Arizona charter schools, the often-mentioned claim that schools of choice have the propensity to sort students along ethnic and racial lines (e.g., Whitty, 1997; Willms, 1986, 1996).

A more recent study analyzed 1998 enrollment data in much the same manner as the original investigation to determine if the degree of ethnic separation had lessened, remained the same, or worsened two years later (Cobb, 2000). Numerous charter schools opened while others closed in the two years following the previous analysis, resulting in significant changes in enrollment patterns. For example, there has been a steady decline in the African-American population of charter school students in Arizona as predominantly African-American charter schools have encountered various problems with nearly nonexistent state regulations, as remarkable as that might seem.

As in the previous analysis, this study (Cobb, 2000) also benefited from the use of geographic maps. Over 60 maps were created and analyzed in the urban analysis. We present one of those here.

Figure 1 depicts a scenario that provides evidence of ethnic/racial separation. The charter school at the center of the map is an elementary-middle level Montessori school. Of the 336 students it enrolled, 86 percent were white. This stands in contrast to the percentages of white students served by surrounding traditional public schools of the same grade level (43, 28, 27, 18, and 34 percent). The traditional public school located in the northwest corner of the map is largely white (74 percent), but this school resides far away from the cluster of other schools and is separated by a major interstate. There is little reason to believe the charter school is drawing from that area. No other schools are located to the immediate north due to a large mountainous region. The ethnic composition of the charter school located in the southwest corner of the map reflects that of nearby traditional public schools, and thus does not contribute to ethnic separation.

Insert Figure 1 About Here

To remain consistent with the previous study, each of the 98 urban charter schools was directly compared to the nearest traditional public school of comparable grade level. Admittedly, this method lacks the capacity for detecting ethnic/racial separation that the more inclusive mapping technique offers; however, it summarily portrays charter-traditional public school differences in ethnic/racial composition in a simple, straightforward manner. Figure 2 displays the differences in proportion white between each charter and the closest traditional public school of the same grade level. Overall, two-thirds of the charter schools were more white than their traditional public school neighbor. Of those that contributed to ethnic/racial separation--that is, those that demonstrated at least a 15 percent difference in percent white students--the majority (about a 3 to 1 ratio) did so in the direction of serving more white students than their nearest traditional public school (see the right side of the figure). This is perhaps suggestive of "white flight."

Insert Figure 2 About Here

The overall results of this latest study indicated that nearly a third of Arizona's charter schools contributed to ethnic/racial separation during 1998-99. The encouraging news is that this percentage is considerably down from two years prior when 46 percent of the charter schools were found to contribute to this sort of stratification. However, when the number of charter schools that are suspect of contributing are added, the difference across years narrows significantly from 53 percent in 1996 to 47 percent in

1998 (see Cobb & Glass, 1999, or Cobb, 2000, for a complete explanation of what constitutes the "suspect of contributing" classification). Furthermore, although the proportion of charter schools that appear to have contributed to ethnic/racial separation has lessened over the past two years, the *numbers* of students and schools that have been affected has clearly increased. More Arizona students attended ethnically and racially stratified charter schools in 1998 than they did two years prior (76 schools in 1998 versus 45 schools in 1996). This level of segregation is disturbing, and deserves the attention of policy makers in that state.

Charter schools offer more than just choice of a school for students and parents, they offer schools (or those that sponsor new schools) opportunities to select students and parents. Indeed, charter schools can be selective primarily due to their start-up nature. Consider those that start-up can (1) limit size and thus enrollment (2) narrow their curricular scope to attract or target certain types of students (e.g., Ben Franklin schools in Arizona), and (3) choose geographic location. This notion of selectivity is not limited to charter start-ups. Even conversion schools--especially private conversion schools--already have missions, students, and enrollment numbers in place. One charter school in Arizona, founded by the wife of a Libertarian economics professor at the University of Arizona, advertised for an academically elite clientele and told parents who inquired about admittance for their learning disabled child that the charter school would "not be a good fit" (personal communication). Another charter school in Arizona which was predominantly white in an ethnically diverse area prominently advertised its Mormon mission. It promised young Mormons a school tailored to them with its "10 Reasons LDS Parents Should Choose Life School" (Arizona Republic, 1998). To be sure, these are two

extreme examples; however, they are testimony to the notion that charter schools, at least those operating under few regulations, may well result in worse levels of stratification than other "pure choice" models, such as vouchers, because of their start-up nature.

We encourage the use of improved methodologies to study the potential stratifying effects of charter schools. For instance, student address data would strengthen the mapping techniques employed by Cobb and Glass (1999). But gaining access to these data can be difficult. We also urge researchers and policy makers to make reasonable and appropriate comparisons when looking at the enrollment compositions of charter and traditional public schools. As we have demonstrated, it makes little sense to look at highly ethnically and racially homogeneous areas to find evidence of segregation. Charter schools do locate in predominantly white districts, and probably should not be included in overall averaged figures. Lastly, we suggest that investigations be done by research teams with representatives from pro-charter and anti-charter positions.

Michigan

In the aggregate, Michigan's charter schools--called "public school academies"--serve proportionally more students of color than regular public schools (Horn & Miron, 1999). But again, such averaged figures can mask underlying disparities at regional and local levels. It would be inappropriate to conclude that Michigan charter schools do not ethnically/racially segregate. A more in-depth analysis would be required to answer that question.

In its 1999 study, The Evaluation Center at Western Michigan University reported that, on average, charter schools in Michigan (at least the 62 schools in their study) enrolled relatively more students of color than non-charter public schools (51 to 33

percent). The evaluators were quick to point out, however, that these numbers do not necessarily support the conclusion that charter schools are *attracting* more students of color than traditional public schools, or that they have not contributed to ethnic/racial segregation in their vicinity. Most charter schools in Michigan are located in urban areas, which are predominantly minority. In fact, the data indicate that the charter schools are actually serving disproportionately fewer minorities in diverse areas. Sponsoring districts were 41 percent white on average while charter schools in those districts were nearly 60 percent white on average. Horn and Miron, while recognizing the limitations of charter-to-district comparisons (in this instance, some students attend charters from outside districts in which they are located), suggested that this provides evidence of ethnic segregation. They reported:

> in fact, in relation to the host districts, the [charter schools] as a whole have fewer minorities. Thus, there is support for those who argue that the charter schools are skimming and increasing segregation." (Horn & Miron, 1999, p. v)

and that,

> while some schools…strive[d] to increase racial and social diversity of the students, others [had] few, if any minorities or students with special needs." (p. iv)

In the Appendices of their report, Horn and Miron (1999) present comparisons of the ethnic compositions between 61 charter schools and their host districts. We calculated that 26 of 61 charter schools, or 43 percent, demonstrated at least a 15 percent difference in percent white. Of these 26, 14 were in the direction of enrolling more minority students while 12 were in the direction of serving more white students. However, after removing charter schools located in host districts that were ethnically and racially homogeneous (that is, over 95 percent white, on average), the proportion of charter

schools that presented with at least a 15 percent difference increased to well over half (24 of 45). Further, the percentage of charter schools that were significantly more white than their host district increased to 27 percent.

Perhaps more troubling is the declining trend in enrollment among minority students over a four-year period (see Figure 3). The evaluators attributed this decline to newly formed charter schools, which were enrolling greater numbers of white students. To the extent that new charters are locating in ethnically/racially heterogeneous areas, this could be indicative of white flight. Given that sponsoring districts sponsoring charter schools are 41 percent white (compared to the overall state average of 80 percent white), it does appear that charters are locating in more ethnically and racially diverse communities.

Insert Figure 3 About Here

We learned from the Horn and Miron study that state-averaged data may not accurately portray a complete picture. Once again, we return to the comparisons drawn in the U.S. Department of Education's fourth year report:

> In order to examine the racial/ethnic variability across schools, we also calculated the average of the schools' racial/ethnic percentages. On average, charter schools enrolled a significantly lower percentage of white students (50 percent versus 63 percent) and a much larger percentage of black students (27 percent versus 17 percent) than all public schools in the 27 charter states. (p. 30).

We want to point out that this "50%" figure is an average across schools, and that there are many data points on either side of this mean. It could be the case that those schools that comprise the upper part of this range (say, 70 percent and higher white) were mostly

located in non-white areas, as Horn and Miron had found in Michigan. Cast in this light, the data tell a different story.

California

A number of studies have reported that charter schools in California over-represent white students. For instance, the national *First-Year Report* revealed that 37 percent of California charter schools, compared to 17 percent of traditional public schools, had enrollments of 80 percent or more white students (U.S. Department of Education, 1997). A separate study, one commissioned by the California Legislative Analyst's Office, concluded that,

> On the whole, charter schools served a population that was demographically similar to the student population statewide. Within-district comparisons, however, showed that in about 40% of charter schools students were more likely to be White, and in about 60% of charter schools students were less likely to be low-income than other students in their sponsoring districts. (SRI, 1997)

The *UCLA Charter School Study* found that in 10 of the 17 charter schools it investigated, at least one ethnic or racial group was over- or under-represented by 15 percent or more in comparison to the districts' composition (Wells, 1999). Crockett (1999) found similar evidence of ethnic/racial segregation in her comprehensive study of well over one hundred California charter schools. We explore this study in more detail below.

Crockett (1999) conducted a statewide analysis of all 123 California charter schools that operated during the 1997-98 school year. The analysis was an attempt to discern, to the extent it existed, the ethnic/racial distinctness between charter schools and their sponsoring districts. California charter law requires charter schools to reflect the ethnic/racial balance of the district in which they reside. (Wells (1999) previously

reported that this rule was not being enforced, at least among the ten California districts in her study.) If discrepancies in ethnic/racial student compositions were evident, Crockett sought to explain those differences by way of school and district characteristics (e.g., urbanness, grade level, geographic location and size, charter mission, and the like).

Racial distinctness was defined by a 25 percent charter-district difference in ethnicity/race for at least one of the seven ethnic/racial categories. (California maintains seven classifications of ethnicity/race: American Indian, Asian, Pacific Island, Filipino, Hispanic, Black, and White.) Results indicated that nearly a third (n=38) of the charter schools were ethnically/racially distinct from their sponsoring district (see Table 1). Further inspection demonstrated that urban charter schools were far more likely to exhibit distinctness than suburban and rural schools.

Insert Table 1 About Here

A closer examination of the 38 charter schools that were 25 percent and greater distinct in ethnic/racial composition from their sponsoring districts revealed that 20 (or 52 percent) of these exhibited a white-Hispanic inverse relationship; that is, charter schools typically served more white students than the district, on average, and conversely, the district schools served more Hispanic students, on average. These percentages virtually offset one another. Of the 20 charter schools, 19 were in the direction of more white. This is strongly suggestive of ethnic/racial separation.

Crockett was particularly interested in those charter schools that were whiter than their district. Overall, 78 of the 123 charter schools (63 percent) were whiter than their sponsoring districts. One in five charter schools (n=26) exhibited at least a 20 point

difference in the percentage of white students enrolled (all in the direction of the charter being more white). The average difference in percent white among these charter schools was 32 percent. These schools tended to be located in urban areas, span the elementary and middle school grades, espouse an academic (versus vocational) mission, and be start-up (versus conversion) schools. In most instances, the difference in percent white (i.e., charter minus district average) was matched by a corresponding deficit in the percentage of Hispanic students (see Table 2).

Insert Table 2 About Here

Crockett noted the methodological weakness of using district averages (of percent ethnic/racial enrollments) as it ignores within-district ethnic/racial heterogeneity. She further cautioned that "some charter schools may reflect their locations in a way that puts them out of balance with their sponsoring districts...particularly if the district is large." That said, Crockett affirmed that "the findings of ethnic separation...are not limited to one or two districts, but are in effect statewide" (p. 74). A map analysis of California charter schools is currently underway, which we believe presents a more powerful manner to investigate the possibility of ethnic/racial separation. Nevertheless, the findings reported by Crockett are strongly indicative of ethnic/racial stratification.

Finally, we think it is important to note that many charters in California have experimented with mandatory parental involvement contracts, which can serve to be exclusionary (Becker, Nakagawa, & Corwin, 1996). In a study of ten California school districts Wells (1999) also reported that charter schools exercise considerable control over the types of students they serve.

Conclusions

The evidence presented here runs counter to some of the claims intimated by highly regarded national evaluations of charter schools, namely, that charter schools have not resulted in the ethnic/racial separation of students. More careful inspection demonstrates that ethnic and racial stratification can and does exist on the part of some charter schools. Comparisons among proximal charter and traditional public schools in Arizona, Michigan, and California suggest that a significant number of charter schools are disproportionately more white by about 15 to 20 percent on average. These three states account for over half of the nation's charter schools. Although we do not generalize our findings to all charter schools, we do believe that substantial evidence exists that charter schools in ethnically and racially diverse neighborhoods are contributing to ethnic and racial segregation in the public schools of our nation. Moreover, certain among state charter policies appear to permit such sorting. These incidences of ethnic/racial separation are not isolated nor insignificant.

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Table 1
(Table 7, Crockett, 1999, p. 44)

25 Percent and Greater Difference (District – Charter) by Racial/Ethnic Group, 1997-98

	% Difference District - Charter by Racial/Ethnic Group						
Charter School	**Am.Ind**	**Asian**	**Pac.Isl**	**Filipino**	**Hispanic**	**Black**	**White**
Charter Rite of Passage	-0.7%	-1.2%	-0.6%	0.1%	*-22.0%*	-18.2%	**42.7%**
Soledad Enrichment Action (Charter)	0.7%	3.2%	0.6%	1.7%	**-30.4%**	8.4%	15.8%
Sobriety High (Charter)	-3.5%	4.4%	0.0%	0.7%	*20.7%*	6.7%	**-29.0%**
Academy for Academic Excellence	0.7%	1.4%	0.3%	0.5%	8.6%	14.2%	**-25.8%**
Cato II School of Reason (Charter)	-0.4%	-1.8%	-0.5%	-0.9%	0.2%	**-39.5%**	**42.9%**
Banks (Vivian) Charter (Elementary)	**-41.4%**	1.6%	0.4%	0.6%	-5.7%	1.3%	**43.0%**
Washington (George) Charter (Elem)	-0.9%	-2.1%	-0.2%	0.1%	**37.2%**	1.2%	**-35.2%**
Keyes to Learning Charter	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.2%	**27.7%**	-2.3%	**-28.1%**
Kingsburg Community Charter Ex	-1.2%	2.6%	0.6%	0.0%	**36.9%**	0.3%	**-39.2%**
Accelerated (K-6) Charter	-1.1%	4.3%	0.4%	1.9%	*12.2%*	**-28.5%**	10.9%
Canyon Elementary (Charter)	0.0%	0.6%	-0.8%	1.6%	**50.3%**	0.5%	**-52.2%**
Kenter Canyon Elementary (Charter)	-0.5%	-2.2%	0.4%	1.4%	**59.6%**	3.5%	**-62.0%**
Marquez Avenue Elementary (Cha	0.3%	-1.2%	0.2%	1.2%	**58.7%**	9.2%	**-68.4%**
Montague Street Elem. (Charter)	0.1%	4.1%	0.2%	1.4%	**-27.3%**	12.8%	8.7%
Open Magnet: Center for Indivi	-1.0%	-16.9%	-0.4%	1.1%	**49.7%**	-3.7%	**-28.6%**
Palisades Charter High (Alt.)	0.1%	-5.1%	0.2%	1.5%	**41.0%**	-15.9%	*-21.8%*
Pacific Palisades Elementary (	-0.1%	1.4%	0.0%	1.0%	**42.7%**	11.6%	**-56.3%**
Revere (Paul) Middle (Char)	-0.3%	-2.3%	0.0%	0.5%	**45.6%**	-6.4%	**-37.0%**
Temescal Canyon Continua (Char)	0.3%	2.7%	0.4%	1.9%	**36.2%**	-29.7%	-11.7%
Topanga Elementary (Charter)	0.3%	0.1%	0.4%	0.7%	**55.1%**	10.2%	**-66.8%**
Vaughn Street Elementary (Charter)	0.2%	4.2%	0.4%	1.9%	**-26.8%**	9.9%	10.3%
Westwood Elementary (Charter)	-0.1%	-8.1%	0.0%	1.3%	**61.0%**	4.7%	**-58.7%**
Natomas Charter #19	-0.4%	3.8%	1.4%	0.5%	8.1%	15.0%	**-28.6%**
American Indian Public Charter	**-90.6%**	17.5%	0.9%	0.9%	*20.2%*	**48.0%**	3.2%
Oakland Charter Academy	0.6%	16.4%	-0.2%	0.9%	**-73.5%**	**49.8%**	6.1%
Linscott (J. W.) Elementary Charter	0.2%	-2.5%	0.1%	0.7%	**35.4%**	0.0%	**-33.8%**
Choice 2000 On-Line (Charter)	0.2%	-0.5%	-1.0%	0.8%	**38.5%**	5.7%	**-43.8%**
Memorial Junior High	0.4%	9.2%	0.9%	7.9%	**-50.1%**	7.6%	*24.1%*
Nubia Leadership Academy Charter	0.6%	9.5%	1.0%	8.1%	**32.3%**	**-80.1%**	**28.6%**
O'Farrell Community Charter	0.1%	4.0%	-0.8%	**-28.7%**	18.2%	-14.2%	*21.5%*
School of Success Kindergarten	0.6%	9.5%	1.0%	8.1%	-16.6%	**-27.3%**	*24.8%*
Creative Arts Charter	-3.2%	7.6%	0.6%	4.8%	13.4%	8.4%	**-31.7%**
Leadership High (Charter)	-1.3%	**25.1%**	0.6%	0.3%	2.8%	-0.1%	**-27.3%**
Voyager Charter	0.3%	*24.3%*	0.1%	2.3%	9.9%	1.0%	**-37.8%**
San Jacinto Valley Academy Charter	6.7%	1.0%	0.1%	0.2%	**31.7%**	-3.5%	*-22.7%*
Santa Barbara Charter (Elementary)	-1.2%	-0.3%	-0.6%	-0.8%	**47.8%**	-1.1%	**-43.8%**
Santa Rosa Education Cooperati	2.6%	4.6%	0.5%	-2.1%	*23.5%*	-2.7%	**-26.3%**
Charter Oak (Charter)	0.7%	7.6%	0.1%	0.3%	*22.7%*	-4.1%	**-27.4%**

Note: figures 25% + deviation in bold; figures 20% - 24.9% in italics.

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Table 2
(Table 14, Crockett, 1999, p. 52)

Charter Schools Whiter than Sponsoring District by 20% and Greater District – Charter Percent Difference

Charter School	% Difference (District – Charter) by Racial/Ethnic Group						
	Am.Ind	Asian	Pac.Isl	Filipino	Hispanic	Black	White
Academy For Academic Excellence	0.7%	1.4%	0.3%	0.5%	8.6%	14.2%	-25.8%
Canyon Elementary (Charter)	0.0%	0.6%	-0.8%	1.6%	50.3%	0.5%	-52.2%
Charter Oak (Charter)	0.7%	7.6%	0.1%	0.3%	22.7%	-4.1%	-27.4%
Choice 2000 On-Line (Charter)	0.2%	-0.5%	-1.0%	0.8%	38.5%	5.7%	-43.8%
Creative Arts Charter	-3.2%	7.6%	0.6%	4.8%	13.4%	8.4%	-31.7%
Kenter Canyon Elementary (Charter)	-0.5%	-2.2%	0.4%	1.4%	59.6%	3.5%	-62.0%
Keyes To Learning Charter	0.0%	2.4%	0.0%	0.2%	27.7%	-2.3%	-28.1%
Kingsburg Community Charter Ext.	-1.2%	2.6%	0.6%	0.0%	36.9%	0.3%	-39.2%
Leadership High (Charter)	-1.3%	25.1%	0.6%	0.3%	2.8%	-0.1%	-27.3%
Linscott (J. W.) Elementary Charter	0.2%	-2.5%	0.1%	0.7%	35.4%	0.0%	-33.8%
Marquez Avenue Elementary (Charte	0.3%	-1.2%	0.2%	1.2%	58.7%	9.2%	-68.4%
Natomas Charter #19	-0.4%	3.8%	1.4%	0.5%	8.1%	15.0%	-28.6%
Open Magnet: Center For Individual	-1.0%	-16.9%	-0.4%	1.1%	49.7%	-3.7%	-28.6%
Options For Youth-Long Beach	-0.6%	8.4%	-0.1%	1.8%	9.9%	1.7%	-21.1%
Pacific Palisades Elementary	-0.1%	1.4%	0.0%	1.0%	42.7%	11.6%	-56.3%
Palisades Charter High (Alternative)	0.1%	-5.1%	0.2%	1.5%	41.0%	-15.9%	-21.8%
Revere (Paul) Middle (Charter)	-0.3%	-2.3%	0.0%	0.5%	45.6%	-6.4%	-37.0%
San Jacinto Valley Academy	-6.7%	1.0%	0.1%	0.2%	31.7%	-3.5%	-22.7%
Santa Barbara Charter (Elementary)	-1.2%	-0.3%	-0.6%	-0.8%	47.8%	-1.1%	-43.8%
Santa Rosa Education Cooperative	2.6%	4.6%	0.5%	-2.1%	23.5%	-2.7%	-26.3%
Sobriety High (Charter)	-3.5%	4.4%	0.0%	0.7%	20.7%	6.7%	-29.0%
Topanga Elementary (Charter)	0.3%	0.1%	0.4%	0.7%	55.1%	10.2%	-66.8%
Voyager Charter	0.3%	24.3%	0.1%	2.3%	9.9%	1.0%	-37.8%
Washington (George) Charter (Elem.)	-0.9%	-2.1%	-0.2%	0.1%	37.2%	1.2%	-35.2%
Westside Elementary (Charter)	-0.8%	3.7%	0.1%	0.8%	2.0%	15.1%	-20.9%
Westwood Elementary (Charter)	-0.1%	-8.1%	0.0%	1.3%	61.0%	4.7%	-58.7%

Note: figures 20% + deviation in bold.

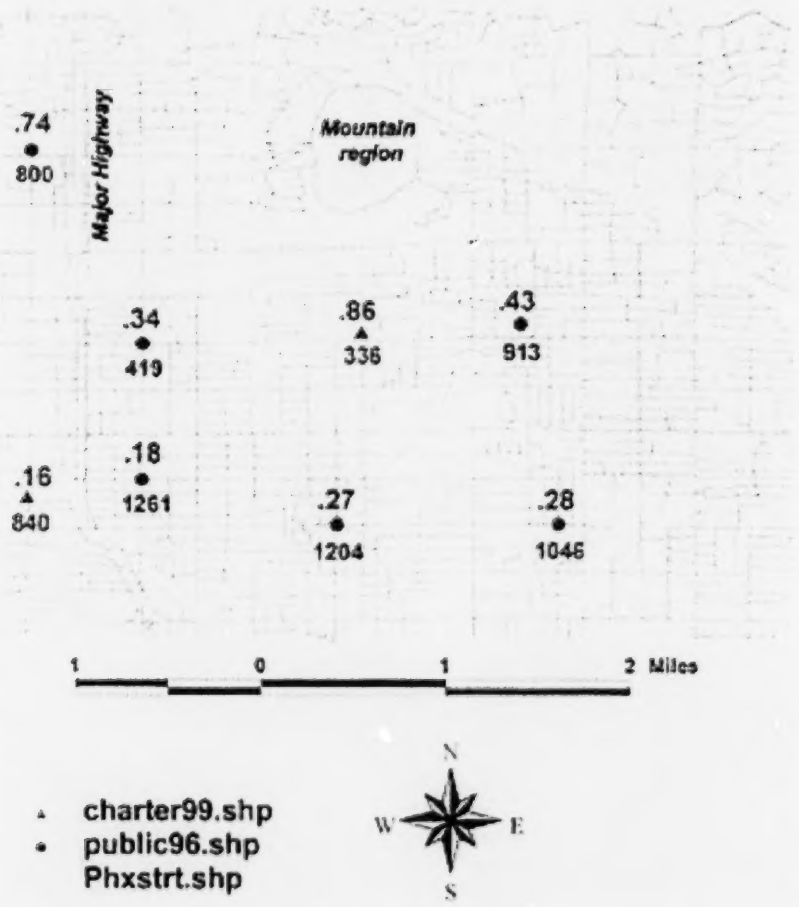

Figure 1. Proportion white students in east Phoenix elementary schools, 1998.
(Figure 2, Cobb & Glass, 1999)

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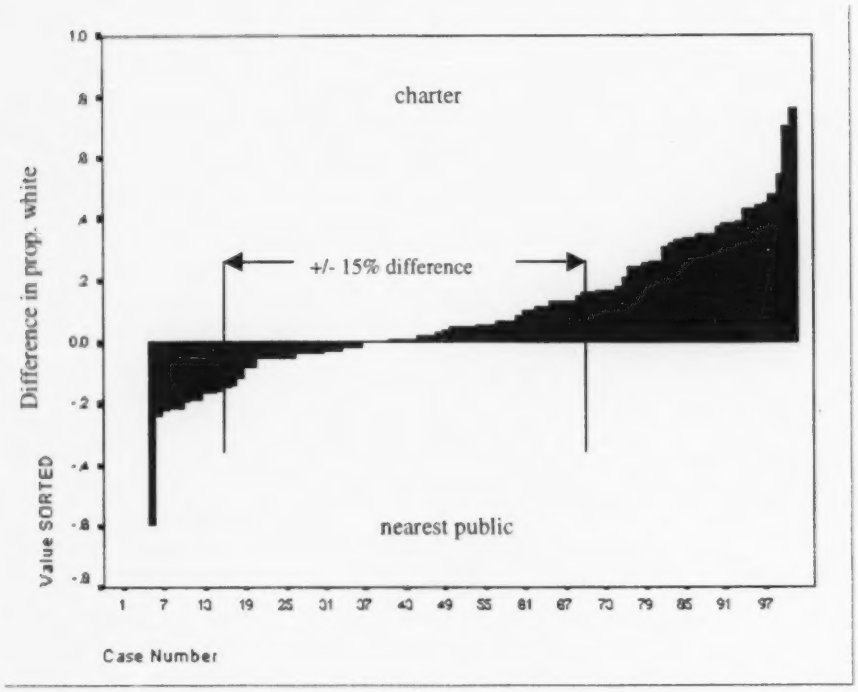

Figure 2. Difference in proportion white between metro-Phoenix (urban) charter schools and nearest traditional public school of same grade level.
(Figure 2, Cobb, 2000)

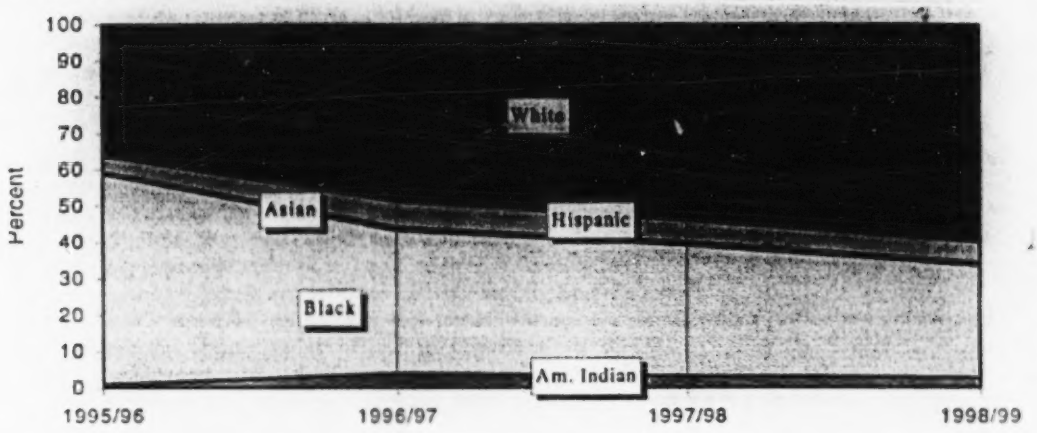

Figure 3. Changes in the Ethnic Composition of PSAs Over Time.
(Figure 2, Horn & Miron, 1999, p. iv)

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